DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 322 765 FL 018 776

AUTHOR Culy, Martin M.
TITLE A Typology of Koine Relative Clauses.
INSTITUTION Summer Inst. of Linguistics, Grand Forks, N. Dak.
PUB DATE 89
NOTE 27p.; In: Work Papers of the Summer Institute of Linguistics 1989, University of North Dakota Session, Volume 33; see FL 018 773.
PUB TYPE Reports - Evaluative/Feasibility (142)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC02 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS *Biblical Literature; Form Classes (Languages); *Grammar; *Greek; Idioms; *Language Patterns; Language Research; *Language Typology; Linguistic Theory; Pronouns; Structural Analysis (Linguistics); Syntax; Uncommonly Taught Languages
IDENTIFIERS *Greek (Koine); *Relative Clauses

ABSTRACT

A concise typology of Koine Greek relative clauses is presented, drawing on data from the Greek New Testament. The analysis begins by pointing out that Koine uses the strategy of relative pronouns in all relative clauses. The other ways in which relative pronouns are used, in addition to introducing the relative clause, are then described. The position of the relative clause with relation to its head is discussed, arguing that only postnominal and internally headed relative clauses occur. Finally, the types of internally headed relative clauses found in Koine are described and three instances in which they function adverbially are examined. While the emphasis of the analysis is not on syntax, several potential problem areas for current transformational syntax are noted. Indexes to examples of phrase and clause types in the New Testament are appended, and a brief list of references is included. (MSE)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY
R. Dooley
TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Office of Educational Research and Improvement
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)
X This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.
☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.
• Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official OERI position or policy.

ED322765

A TYPOLOGY OF KOINE RELATIVE CLAUSES

Martin M. Culy

1 Introduction
2 Strategies employed
3 Idiomatic usages of relative pronouns
  3.1 Interpretative relative "phrases"
  3.2 Conjoining relative phrases
  3.3 Demonstrative relative phrases
  3.4 Other relative phrases
4 Position of the head noun in Koine relative clauses
  4.1 Extraposition
5 Internally-headed relative clauses
  5.1 Adverbial internally-headed relative clauses
    5.1.1 Manner
    5.1.2 Reason
    5.1.3 Time
  5.2 Other types
6 Conclusion
Appendices
Notes
References

1 Introduction

In this paper I endeavor to give a broad description of Koine Greek relative clauses. My database consists primarily of the Greek New Testament (Marshall and Nestle 1960). I begin by pointing out that Koine uses the strategy of relative pronouns in all relative clauses (Sect. 2). This section is followed by a description of the other ways in which relative pronouns are used besides introducing a relative clause (Sect. 3). In section 4, I discuss the position of the relative clause with respect to its head, arguing that only postnominal and internally headed relative clauses occur. Finally, in section 5, I give a description of the types of internally headed relative clauses (IHRCs) found in Koine and note three instances where they function adverbially.

Although this paper for the most part does not deal with formal syntax, I have noted several potential problem areas for current transformational syntax.

FL018726

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

2 Strategies employed

Every relative clause in Koine Greek is introduced by a relative pronoun. Whereas many languages utilize different strategies for relativizing different types of nominals, e.g., obliques as opposed to subjects, Koine uses the same type of strategy for all nominals. This is exemplified in the data below. In (1) we have subject relativization:

(1) Acts 1:23

Καὶ ἔστησαν δύο, Ἰωσὴφ τὸν καλούμενον
and they set two Joseph the being called

Βαρσαββᾶν [ὃς[1] ἐπεκλήθη Ἰοῦστος], καὶ
Barsabbas RP:NOM was surnamed Justus and

Μαθθίαν.
Matthias

'And they appointed two, Joseph, called Barsabbas, who was surnamed Justus, and Matthias.'

In (2) we have object relativization:

(2) Acts 1:4

καὶ συναλιζόμενος παρήγγειλεν αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ
and meeting with he charged them from

Ἰεροσολύμων μὴ χωρίζεσθαι ἀλλὰ περιμένειν τὴν
Jerusalem not to depart but to await the

ἐπαγγελίαν τοῦ πατρὸς [ἣν ἠκούσατέ
promise of the father RP:ACC you heard

μου],
of me

'And meeting with them He charged them not to depart from Jerusalem, but to wait for the promise of the Father which you have heard from me.'

In (3) we have indirect object relativization:

(3) Hebrews 7:4

Θεωρεῖτε δὲ πηλίκος οὗτος, [ᾧ {καὶ}
Behold but how great this RP:DAT also

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

δεκάτην Ἀβραὰμ ἔδωκεν ἐκ τῶν ἀκροθινίων
a tenth Abraham gave of the spoils

ὁ πατριάρχης].
the patriarch

'Behold how great this man was to whom the patriarch Abraham gave a tenth of his spoils.'

And in (4) we have oblique relativization:

(4) Acts 20:18

ὡς δὲ παρεγένοντο πρὸς αὐτὸν εἶπεν
when but they came to him he said

αὐτοῖς· ὑμεῖς ἐπίστασθε, ἀπὸ πρώτης ἡμέρας
to them you understand from first day

[ἀφ' ἧς ἐπέβην εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν]
from RP:GEN I set foot in the Asia

'you understand that from the first day on which I set foot in Asia'

There are, however, some curious examples where other strategies are used in combination with the relative pronoun. Consider Mark 7:25:

(5) Mark 7:25

ἀλλ' εὐθὺς ἀκούσασα γυνὴ περὶ αὐτοῦ,
but immediately hearing woman about him

[ἧς εἶχεν τὸ θυγάτριον αὐτῆς πνεῦμα ἀκάθαρτον]
RP:GEN had the daughter of her spirit unclean

ἐλθοῦσα προσέπεσεν πρὸς τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ·
coming fell at the feet of him

'But immediately, a woman hearing about Him, whose daughter had an unclean spirit, came and fell at His feet.'

Here we have a relative pronoun ἧς that is the possessor of the NP τὸ θυγάτριον 'the daughter'. Notice, however, that the same NP also has a pronominal possessor αὐτῆς 'her'. This is what has traditionally been described as a "pleonastic" or "redundant" pronoun. Such a construction, was attested, but rare, in classical Greek.

Its more frequent usage in the New Testament (although it is still used sparingly, see Appendix B) may be related to the frequency of use in the LXX (the Septuagint, a third century translation of the Hebrew Old Testament). In the LXX, this is clearly due to a literal following of the Hebrew text, where pleonastic pronouns are common. Presumably, out of reverence for the text, and since the usage was not unknown in Greek, these passages were translated literally. For examples of this in the LXX see Gen. 1:11, Ex. 6:26, Num. 13:33; 35:25.

(6) Exodus 6:26

οὗτος Ἀαρὼν καὶ Μωυσῆς, [οἷς εἶπεν αὐτοῖς
this Aaron and Moses RP:DAT said to them

ὁ θεὸς ἐξαψαψεῖν τοὺς υἱοὺς Ἰσραηλ
the God to bring out the sons Israel

ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου]
out of the land of Egypt
'This is Aaron and Moses to whom God said to bring the children of Israel out of the land of Egypt.'

This presents a difficult structural problem. What is the D-Structure of examples such as (6)? The relative pronoun οἷς and the pronoun replacer αὐτοῖς 'them', if both present at D-Structure, would occupy the same node. This is clearly unacceptable. There is evidence, however, that relative pronouns in Koine are actually relative ***specifiers***. This would eliminate the problem of two constituents filling one node.

The redundant use of a pronoun replacer is not the only such "pleonasm" found in Koine relative clauses. There is one example in the New Testament where in addition to the relative pronoun, there also appears to be noun retention, i.e., the head noun is present both in the matrix clause and in the embedded clause.

(7) 2 Corinthians 10:13

ἡμεῖς δὲ οὐκ εἰς τὰ ἄμετρα καυχησόμεθα ἀλλὰ
we but not in the excess will boast but

κατὰ τὸ μέτρον τοῦ κανόνος
according to the measure of the length

[οὗ ἐμέρισεν ἡμῖν ὁ θεὸς μέτρου] ἐφικέσθαι
RP:GEN divided to us the God measure:GEN to reach

ἄχρι καὶ ὑμῶν.
as far as even you

'But we will not boast in excess, but according to the measure of length which God has given to us, to reach even to you.'

This verse is problematic in several ways. First of all, we have the unusual retention of the head noun in the relative clause in addition to the presence of the relative pronoun. To complicate matters more, both are "attracted" to the case of the genitive NP that modifies the antecedent, i.e., the relative pronoun has assumed the case of its antecedent. (The verb μερίζω 'to divide', excluding cases of attraction, takes its object in the accusative case.)

3 Idiomatic usages of relative pronouns

In order to give a thorough account of the relative clauses found in the New Testament, it is necessary to mention several instances where the relative pronoun is used idiomatically. In some cases it is not even used to introduce a relative clause. Each of these cases is listed in the appropriate Appendix with the references in which they occur in the New Testament. Traditional grammarians have used both the term "relative phrase" and "idiomatic phrase" to describe these constructions, although in the case of interpretative relative "phrases" they are clearly relative clauses.

3.1 Interpretative relative "phrases"

There are three constructions that fall under the category of interpretative relative "phrase", which in fact is a type of non-restrictive relative clause. All use a neuter nominative relative pronoun and are distinguished according to which of the following verbs they use: ἐστιν 'is' (most common), ἑρμηνεύεται 'is translated', or λέγεται 'is called'. The latter two are used exclusively in John's Gospel, although he utilizes ὅ ἐστιν (plus a verb) as well. All three are used to elaborate on the meaning of the antecedent. Consider these three examples from John.

(8) John 1:38

οἱ δὲ εἶπαν αὐτῷ· ῥαββί, [ὃ
the:PL and they said to him Rabbi:MASC RP:NOM

λέγεται μεθερμηνευόμενον διδάσκαλε], ποῦ
is called being interpreted Teacher where

μένεις;
you remain

'And they said to him, "Rabbi, (which means 'Teacher'), where are you staying?"'

(9) John 1:41

εὑρήκαμεν τὸν Μεσσίαν, [ὅ ἐστιν
we have found the Messiah:MASC RP:NOM is

μεθερμηνευόμενον χριστός].
being interpreted Christ

'"we have found the Messiah," (which means Christ).

(10) John 1:42

σὺ κληθήσῃ Κηφᾶς, [ὃ ἑρμηνεύεται
you shall be called Cephas:MASC RP:NOM is translated

Πέτρος].
Peter

'"you shall be called Cephas" (which is translated Peter).

While interpretative relative "phrases" most often elaborate on the meaning of an antecedent that is a proper name, they are not limited to such. Consider (11):

(11) Mark 15:16

Οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται ἀπήγαγον αὐτον ἔσω τῆς
the but soldiers led away him inside the

αὐλῆς, [ὅ ἐστιν πραιτώριον]
court:FEM RP:NOM is praetorium

"But the soldiers led him away inside the court, which is the praetorium"

For an exhaustive list of the examples found in the New Testament see Appendix C.

3.2 Conjoining relative phrases

I have placed two kinds of constructions under this heading following Robertson (1934). The first is formed by

combining the preposition ἐν 'in, on, etc.' with a dative masculine relative pronoun. This can be either singular or plural, resulting in the adverbial meanings 'while' or 'meanwhile'. Consider these examples:

(12) Luke 5:34

μὴ δύνασθε τοὺς υἱοὺς τοῦ νυμφῶνος
not you are able the sons of the bride-chamber

ἐν ᾧ ὁ νυμφίος μετ' αὐτῶν ἐστιν ποιῆσαι
in RP:DAT the bridegroom with them is to make

νηστεῦσαι;
to fast

'Are you able to make the children of the bride-chamber fast, while the bridegroom is with them?'

(13) Luke 12:1

Ἐν οἷς ἐπισυναχθεισῶν τῶν μυριάδων τοῦ ὄχλου
in RP:DAT:PL being assembled the myriads the crowd

'Meanwhile, as a multitude of a crowd was assembled'

Of course, not all instances of this combination are idiomatic usages; some are normal relative clauses modifying an antecedent.

(14) Matthew 3:17

οὗτος ἐστιν ὁ υἱος μου ὁ ἀγαπητός,
this is the son of me the beloved
[ἐν ᾧ εὐδόκησα]
in RP:DAT I am well pleased

'This is my beloved Son in whom I am well pleased.'

There are other examples that are less clearcut than those listed above and in Appendix D that some might want to include in this category.

The second construction coming under this heading is formed by combining the preposition ἀντί 'for, instead of, etc.' with a genitive plural relative pronoun. The semantic force of the relative phrase being something like the

English "because". This is illustrated below:

(15) Luke 12:3

ἀνθ' ὧν	ὅσα	ἐν τῇ σκοτίᾳ
for RP:GEN:PL	as many things as	in the darkness

εἶπατε ἐν τῷ	φωτὶ	ἀκουσθήσεται,
you said in the	light	will be heard

'Because as many things as you said in the darkness will be heard in the light.'

Other examples of this construction can be found in Luke 19:44 and Acts 12:23.

3.3 Demonstrative relative phrases

In this relative phrase the relative pronoun is combined with μὲν/δὲ (particles used to introduce clauses that contrast, μὲν being the particle that introduces the first clause) to give the semantic force of "the one/the other" or "some/other".

(16) Matthew 21:35

καὶ λαβόντες οἱ γεωργοὶ	τοὺς δούλους	αὐτοῦ
and taking the husbandmen	the slaves	of him

ὃν	μὲν	ἔδειραν	ὃν	δὲ
RP:ACC:SING	some	they flogged	RP:ACC:SING	other

ἀπέκτειναν,	ὃν	δὲ	ἐλιθοβόλησαν.
they killed	RP:ACC:SING	other	they stoned

'And the husbandmen, taking his slaves, flogged one, killed another, and stoned another.'

The reader should notice that the relative pronouns do not individually agree in number with their antecedent, i.e., three "singular" relative phrases have been used to modify a plural antecedent.

This construction is virtually identical in its semantics to the combination of the article and μὲν/δὲ. Romans 14:2 is a perfect example of the apparent interchangeability of the two constructions.

(17) Romans 14:2

ὅς	μὲν	πιστεύει	φαγειν	πάντα
RP:NOM:SING	the one	believes	to eat	all

ὁ	δὲ	ἀσθενῶν	λάχανα	ἐσθίει
the	other	being weak	herbs	eats

'One man believes he may eat anything, another, who is weak, eats only herbs.'

The first clause uses the relative pronoun ὅς plus μὲν, while in the second part of this μὲν/δὲ construction the article ὁ is used with δὲ.

In demonstrative relative phrases the relative pronoun, in combination with μὲν/δὲ, functions as a type of nominal. Notice that in (16) the verbs δέρω 'flog', ἀποκτείνω 'kill', and λιθοβολέω 'stone' are not part of a relative clause introduced by the relative pronoun but rather are conjoined VPs in the matrix clause. This is true in all examples of demonstrative relative phrases. For an exhaustive list of the examples of this construction in the New Testament see Appendix E.

3.4 Other relative phrases

There are other constructions similar to those mentioned above that could possibly be included as relative phrases. However, since the evidence that they are idiomatic usages is less clear, I will only mention them in passing.

A dative relative pronoun combined with ὄνομα (in the nominative case) is the formula for ascribing a name to the antecedent. This usage seems to be a typical example of what has been called the "dative of possession" by traditional grammarians.

(18) Luke 1:26

πόλιν	τῆς	Γαλιλαίας	ᾗ	ὄνομα	Ναζαρέθ
city		of Galilee	RP:DAT:SING	name	Nazareth

'a city of Galilee, named Nazareth'

Further examples of this construction can be found in Luke 1:27; 2:25; 8:41; 24:13 and Acts 13:6.

Another possible example is the combination of the preposition ἀπό 'from' with a relative pronoun. However, it is difficult to call this an idiomatic phrase since the

relative pronoun varies in gender. It seems to agree with an implicit head noun, perhaps ἡμέρα 'day, time', which is feminine, in some instances (e.g., Luke 7:45),and χρόνος 'time', which is masculine, in others (e.g., Luke 13:25).

(19) Luke 7:45

αὕτη δὲ ἀφ' ἧς εἰσῆλθον οὐ διέλειπεν
she but from RP:FEM:GEN I entered not ceased

καταφιλοῦσά μου τοὺς πόδας
fervently kissing of me the feet

'But she has not ceased from the time when I entered to kiss my feet.'

(20) Luke 13:25

ἀφ' οὗ ἄν ἐγερθῇ ὁ οἰκοδεσπότης
from RP:MASC:GEN-IND is risen the house master

'From the time when the house master rises'

The positing of these antecedents is, however, somewhat speculative. Of course, even if this should be called an instance of an idiomatic phrase, there are numerous examples where the combination of ἀπό with a relative pronoun is used in the normal way to modify an antecedent.

4 Position of the head noun with Koine relative clauses

At first glance Koine appears to be peculiar cross-linguistically in that it seems to have evidence of all three relative clause types: prenominal, postnominal and internally-headed.[2] The postnominal type is by far the most common, encompassing more than 95% of the relative clauses found in the New Testament. Other than those listed in Appendix A, all relative clauses in the corpus are postnominal. The following examples illustrate the construction:

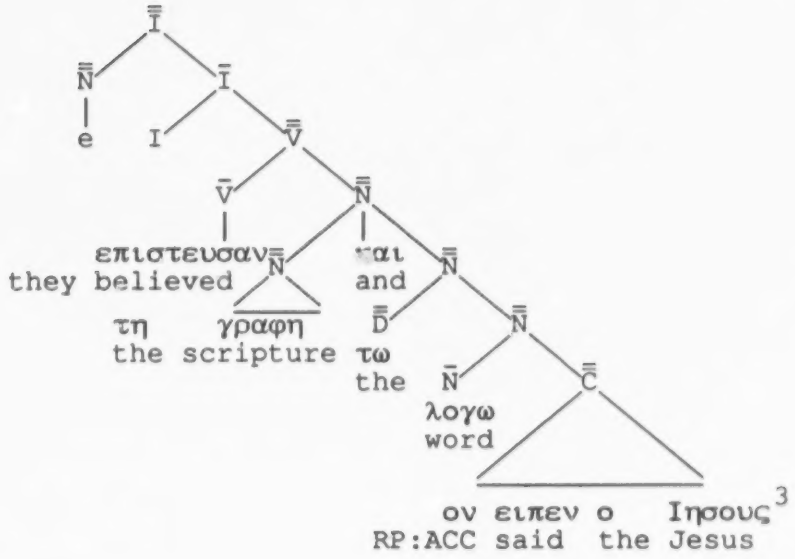
(21) John 2:22

ἐπίστευσαν τῇ γραφῇ καὶ τῷ λόγῳ
they believed the scripture and the word

[ὃν εἶπεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς]
RP:ACC said the Jesus

'they believed the scripture and the word which Jesus had said.'

(22)



[3]

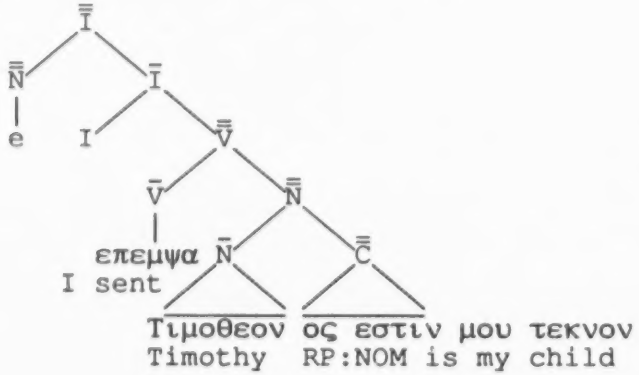
(23) 1 Corinthians 4:17

Διὰ τοῦτο αὐτὸ ἔπεμψα ὑμῖν Τιμόθεον
because of this very I sent to you Timothy

[ὅς ἐστιν μου τέκνον ἀγαπητὸν]
RP:NOM is my child beloved

'Because of this very thing I sent Timothy to you who is my beloved child'

(24)



In both (21) and (23) the bracketed relative clause follows the head noun which it modifies. This, however, is not always the case. Consider (25) below, which appears to contain a prenominal relative clause:

(25) Luke 24:1

τῇ δὲ μιᾷ τῶν σαββάτων ὄρθρου βαθέως
the but one the week while still very early

ἐπὶ τὸ μνῆμα ἦλθον φέρουσαι
upon the tomb they came carrying

[ἅ ἡτοίμασαν] ἀπώματα
RP:ACC they prepared spices

'But on the first day of the week, while it was still very early, they came upon the tomb carrying the spices which they had prepared.'

Robertson (1934:718), however, lists this as an example of what is today called an internally headed relative clause. Thus he would bracket the verse as (26):

(26) Luke 24:1

τῇ δὲ μιᾷ τῶν σαββάτων ὄρθρου βαθέως
the but one the week while still very early

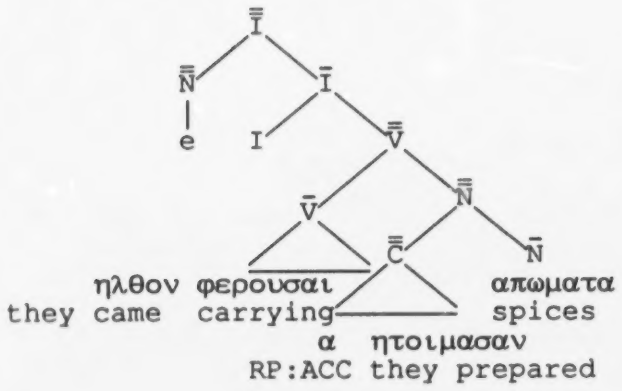
ἐπὶ τὸ μνῆμα ἦλθον φέρουσαι
upon the tomb they came carrying

[ἅ ἡτοίμασαν ἀπώματα]
RP:ACC they prepared spices

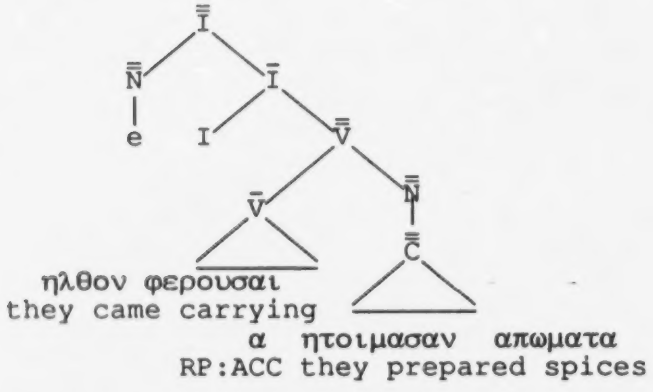
'But on the first day of the week, while it was still very early, they came upon the tomb carrying the spices which they had prepared.'

The question, then, is whether we treat this example and others like it as having structure (27) as a prenominal relative clause or, as having structure (28)as an internally headed relative clause:

(27)



(28)



With this example, and in fact in all the possible examples of prenominal relative clauses, there is no way to give a definitive answer, based on the data, as to whether it is a prenominal or internally-headed relative clause. The reasons for this are simple: whether the head is a constituent of the relative clause or the matrix clause it would receive the same case marking in most of the examples. In the remaining examples the case marking could be attributed to attraction. Romans 16:2 is one of the most likely candidates for a prenominal RC, but it can still be analyzed as an IHRC.

(29) Romans 16:2

παραστῆτε	αὐτῇ	ἐν	ᾧ	ἄν	ὑμῶν
you may stand by	her	in	RP:DAT-IND		of you

χρῄζῃ	πράγματι
she may have need of	thing:DAT

'you may stand by her in whatever thing she might need.'

In this verse the head πράγματι 'thing' is clearly getting its dative case marking from the preposition ἐν 'in, on, etc.', which would appear to be in the matrix clause (although this too is subject to debate since ἐν could be in SPEC of C̄ having been pied piped by the moved Wh-phrase).

Although some linguists have posited that Koine does in fact have prenominal RCs, e.g., Friberg (cited in Callow 1983a:34-36), all verses that are putative examples of prenominal RCs can be analyzed as IHRCs. It should be noted that the opposite is not true, i.e., all putative examples of IHRCs cannot be analyzed as prenominal RCs. Cross-linguistically, prenominal RCs have never been observed to use relative pronouns as a relativization strategy (Maxwell 1979:364); yet all the Koine RCs that Friberg posits as prenominal use a relative pronoun. Friberg's analysis of basic word order in Koine also indirectly provides counter-evidence to his prenominal RC analysis. He presents strong evidence for positing VSO as the basic word order in Koine. Typologists, however, have observed that postnominal RCs are almost without exception the only strategy found in verb-initial languages (Shopen 1985:144).

Neither of these are strong arguments against the prenominal RC analysis; however, before making claims that go against the cross-linguistic norm, a reasonably strong argument or presentation of strong evidence should be produced. This has not been done,[4] nor do I believe it is possible, in the case of Koine RCs.

On the other hand, we must deal with the fact that IHRCs have been observed exclusively in SOV languages (Keenan 1978:44). Of those who have proposed an analysis of Koine basic word order, none have posited that it is SOV. Thus the fact that IHRCs are present in Koine is as typologically odd as the putative prenominal RC examples--at least in terms of word order typology. Here, however, the fact that Koine has IHRCs (in the traditional sense) is undisputed. I have therefore chosen to treat all putative prenominal RCs as IHRCs.

Additionally, I might note that the majority of the traditional Greek grammarians have treated what appear to be prenominal RCs as IHRCs (e.g., Robertson 1934:718; Blass and Debrunner 1961:154).

4.1 Extraposition

Finally, we should note that Koine relative clauses may optionally be extraposed. For the purposes of this paper it is not necessary to give a detailed account of this phenomenon but simply to note its occurrence. An example of extraposition is found in Hebrews 7:13.

(30) Hebrews 7:13

φυλῆς	ἑτέρας	μετέσχηκεν,	[αφ'	ἧς	οὐδεὶς
tribe	another	he belongs		from RP:GEN	no one

προσέσχηκεν	τῷ	θυσιαστηρίῳ]
has devoted himself	to the	altar

'He belongs to another tribe from which no one has devoted himself to the altar.'

In (30) the relative clause has been postposed to follow the verb phrase.

5 Internally headed relative clauses

There is a phenomenon in Koine that has been variously described by traditional grammarians as "incorporation", "assimilation", "transposition", etc. of a head noun into the relative clause. This corresponds to the linguistic notion of an internally-headed relative clause (IHRC). An exhaustive list of those verses exhibiting this phenomenon can be found in Appendix A. Mark 4:24 is a good example.

(31) Mark 4:24

ἐν	[ᾧ	μέτρῳ	μετρεῖτε]
with	RP:DAT	measure	you measure

μετρηθήσεται	ὑμῖν
it shall be measured	to you

'With the measure with which you measure, it shall be measured to you.'

We need to consider what it is that makes this an IHRC. Our first clue comes from the position of the head noun in relation to the relative pronoun. The relative clause in Koine always has a relative pronoun in the clause-initial position. Anything that follows the relative pronoun is thus a constituent of the embedded clause. Secondly, we notice that there is no overt head external to the relative clause.

IHRCs in Koine can be subdivided into various

categories. The first of these contains IHRCs that function as adverbials.

5.1 Adverbial internally-headed relative clauses

There are three types of adverbial IHRCs: manner, reason, and time.

5.1.1 Manner. The construction ὅν τρόπον 'in the manner in which' functions as a manner adverbial. This construction is found in the following verses: Matthew 23:37, Luke 13:34, Acts 1:11; 7:28; 15:11; 27:25, and 2 Timothy 3:8. Consider the following example:

(32) Acts 27:25

οὕτως ἔσται καθ' [ὅν τρόπον
thus it will be in RP:ACC manner

λελάληταί μοι]
it has been spoken to me

'thus it will be in the manner in which it was spoken to me.'

The preposition here has been elided from κατά to καθ', a very common practice in Greek. This phrase is always used with both the relative pronoun and the head noun in the accusative case. The preposition is optional to the construction occurring only in Acts 15:11 and 27:25. Matthew 23:37 is an example where the preposition is absent.

(33) Matthew 23:37

ποσάκις ἠθέλησα ἐπισυναγαγεῖν τὰ τέκνα
how often I wished to gather the children

σου, [ὅν τρόπον ὄρνις ἐπισυνάγει τὰ
of you RP:ACC manner bird gathers the

νοσσία αὐτῆς ὑπὸ τάς πτέρυγας]
young of her under the wings

'How often I wanted to gather your children in the manner in which (as) a bird gathers her young under her wings.'

5.1.2 Reason. A second adverbial construction is δι' ἥν αἰτίαν 'the reason for which'. This IHRC, which functions as a reason adverbial, can be found in the following verses: Luke 8:47, Acts 22:24, 2 Timothy 1:6,12, Titus 1:13, and Hebrews 2:11.

(34) Luke 8:47

ἰδοῦσα δὲ ἡ γυνὴ ὅτι οὐκ ἐλάθεν
seeing and the woman that not she was hidden

τρέμουσα ἦλθεν καὶ προσπεσοῦσα αὐτῷ
trembling she came and falling before him

δι' [ἣν αἰτίαν ἥψατο αὐτου]
for RP:ACC cause she touched him

ἀπήγγειλεν ἐνώπιον παντὸς τοῦ λαοῦ
declared before all the people

'And the woman, seeing that she was not hidden, came trembling and falling before him declared before all the reason for which she had touched him.'

This particular construction never occurs without the preposition in the New Testament.

5.1.3 Time. The third type of adverbial IHRC involves the relativization of a time word, e.g., ἡμερα 'day, time, season', καιρός 'time', or ὥρα 'time, hour'. Of these three, the use of ἡμερα is by far the most common, being found in Matthew 24:38, Luke 1:20; 17:27,29,30, John 9:14, Acts 1:2; 27:33, and Colossians 1:6,9. The other two are only found once each in the New Testament; καιρός in Acts 7:20, and ὥρα in Luke 12:40. These are illustrated below:

(35) Matthew 24:38

ἄχρι [ἧς ἡμέρας εἰσῆλθεν Νῶε εἰς
until RP:GEN day entered Noah into

τὴν κιβωτόν]
the ark

'until the day in which Noah entered into the ark.'

(36) Acts 7:20

Ἐν [ᾧ καιρῷ ἐγεννήθη Μωϋσῆς]
at RP:DAT time was born Moses

'at the time in which Moses was born'

(37) Luke 12:40

καὶ ὑμεῖς γίνεσθε ἕτοιμοι, ὅτι [ᾗ ὥρᾳ
and you be prepared because RP:DAT hour

οὐ δοκεῖτε] ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἔρχεται.
not you think the son of man comes

'And you, be prepared because the Son of Man comes in an hour which you do not expect.'

The word ἡμερα can also occur as an IHRC with the prepositions ἐν 'in, on, etc.' and ἀπό 'from'.

(38) John 9:14

ἦν δὲ σάββατον ἐν [ᾗ ἡμέρᾳ τὸν πηλὸν
it was and sabbath in RP:DAT day the clay

ἐποίησεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς καὶ ἀνέῳξεν αὐτοῦ τοὺς
made the Jesus and opened of him the

ὀφθαλμούς].
eyes

'It was the sabbath on the day in which Jesus made the clay and opened his eyes.'

(39) Colossians 1:6

ἀφ' [ἧς ἡμέρας ἠκούσατε καὶ ἐπέγνωτε
from RP:GEN day you heard and fully knew

τὴν χάριν τοῦ θεοῦ ἐν ἀληθείᾳ]·
the grace of God in truth
'From the day in which you heard and fully knew the grace of God in truth.'

This construction also occurs without the preposition:

(40) Luke 17:30

κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ ἔσται [ᾗ ἡμέρᾳ
according to the same it shall be RP:DAT day

ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἀποκαλύπτεται].
the son the of man is revealed

'It shall be the same way in the day in which the Son of Man is revealed.'

It is interesting to note that if the writer/speaker wishes to modify the time word in any way, e.g., with an adjective, a postnominal RC construction must be used. This is exemplified below:

(41) Acts 20:18

ὑμεῖς ἐπιστασθε ἀπὸ πρώτης ἡμέρας
you understand from first day

[αφ' ἧς ἐπέβην εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν]
from RP:GEN I set foot in Asia

'You understand that from the first day from which I set foot in Asia'

Occasionally, the time word is omitted, leaving simply the preposition and the RP. Compare (42) with (40):

(42) 2 Peter 3:4

αφ' [ἧς γαρ οἱ πατέρες ἐκοιμήθησαν], πάντα
from RP:GEN for the fathers fell asleep all

οὕτως διαμένει απ' ἀρχῆς κτίσεως
thus remains from beginning of creation

'From (the day) when the fathers died, all things remain as they were from the beginning of creation.'

5.2 Other types

The remainder of the IHRC examples do not fall into any obvious category. First of all, we have those that are "normal" in terms of what has been attested in other languages. Two of these are the parallel passages to Mark 4:24 (29); namely Matthew 7:2 and Luke 6:38. The three other basic IHRCs are found in Matthew 10:11, Hebrews 7:14 and 1 Peter 1:10.

(43) Matthew 10:11

[εἰς ἥν (δ') ἄν πόλιν ἤ κώμην
into RP:ACC-(and)-IND city or village

εἰσέλθητε],
you might enter

'And into whatever city or village you might enter'

(44) Hebrews 7:14

[εἰς ἣν φυλὴν περὶ ἱερέων οὐδεν
as to RP:ACC tribe concerning priests nothing

Μωϋσῆς ἐλάλησεν]
Moses spoke

'the tribe of which Moses spoke nothing concerning priests'

(45) 1 Peter 1:10

[περὶ ἧς σωτηρίας ἐξεζήτησαν καὶ
concerning RP:GEN salvation sought out and

ἐξηραύνησαν προφῆται
searched out prophets

'concerning the salvation which the prophets sought after and searched for'

Second, we have a small set of IHRCs that present us with some peculiar case marking facts. Consider the following two examples:

(46) Luke 3:19

περὶ πάντων [ὧν ἐποίησεν πονηρῶν ὁ Ἡρῴδης]
conc. all:GEN RP:GEN had done evils:GEN the Herod

'concerning all the evil things which Herod had done.'

(47) Luke 19:37

περὶ πασῶν [ὧν εἶδον δυνάμεων]
conc. all:GEN RP:GEN they saw powerful deeds:GEN
'concerning all the powerful deeds which they saw.'

Notice in these two examples there are two factors that lead us to analyze the head noun as an internal head.

The primary evidence comes from their physical position. They are definitely ***inside*** the relative clause; the relative pronoun and verb are adjacent on the left and the subject NP of the relative clause is adjacent on the right.

There is, however, a peculiar case marking fact presented by these examples. Consider example (46). The

verb ποιέω 'do' subcategorizes for a direct object in the accusative case. However, the head noun πονηρῶν 'evils' is in the genitive case. It is therefore not case marked as the direct object of the relative clause. Furthermore, neither the syntax nor the semantics of the relative clause allow πονηρῶν 'evils' to fill any other constituent node within the relative clause. The only case assigner in the entire sentence that assigns genitive case is the preposition περὶ 'concerning'. The enigma that faces us, then, is that while the head noun πονηρῶν 'evils' is in the right position to receive accusative case marking from the verb of the relative clause it is somehow receiving genitive case marking from the preposition περὶ 'concerning' which is external to the relative clause.

6 Conclusion

In this paper I have sought to provide the reader with a concise typology of Koine relative clauses. I have shown that the Koine relative pronoun is used in various ways other than within the relative clause. I have shown that Koine has two types of relative clauses in terms of the order of the head noun in relation to the relative clause, namely postnominal and internally-headed. I argued that all putative examples of prenominal RCs can be analyzed as IHRCs. Finally, I illustrated the peculiar case marking facts presented by Koine IHRCs.

Appendices

APPENDIX A

EXAMPLES OF INTERNALLY HEADED RELATIVE CLAUSES

IN THE NEW TESTAMENT

MATTHEW

GEN--24:38
DAT--7:2,2; 24:44
ACC--10:11; 23:37

MARK

NOM--6:11
DAT--4:24
ACC--2:19; 6:16;

1 CORINTHIANS

ACC--7:39

2 CORINTHIANS

GEN--10:13

GALATIANS

ACC--2:10, 18; 4:1

LUKE

GEN--1:4; 1:20; 3:19; 17:27; 19:37
DAT--6:38; 12:40; 17:29,30
ACC--8:47; 9:4; 10:5,8,10; 13:34; 24:1

JOHN

DAT--9:14; 11:6
ACC--1:45; 3:32;5:38; 6:14,29; 8:26; 17:3;

ACTS

GEN--1:2; 25:18; 27:33
DAT--7:20; 21:16
ACC--1:11; 7:28; 15:11,12; 22:24; 27:25

ROMANS

GEN--4:17
DAT--16:2
ACC--7:1,19,19

COLOSSIANS

GEN--1:6,9

2 TIMOTHY

ACC--1:6,12; 3:8

TITUS

ACC-1:13

HEBREWS

GEN--13:11
ACC--2:11; 7:14

1 PETER

GEN--1:10

TOTALS

NOMINATIVE --	1
GENITIVE --	15
DATIVE --	13
ACCUSATIVE --	36
	65

APPENDIX B

EXAMPLES OF RELATIVE CLAUSES WITH REDUNDANT PRONOUNS

IN THE NEW TESTAMENT

MARK

NOM--13:19
GEN--1:7; 7:25

LUKE

NOM--23:51
GEN--3:16
DAT--12:48,48

ACTS
ACC--15:17

1 PETER

NOM--2:24

REVELATION

GEN--13:8,12; 20:8
DAT--7:2
ACC--3:8; 7:9

TOTALS

NOMINATIVE --	3
GENITIVE --	6
DATIVE --	3
ACCUSATIVE --	3
	15

APPENDIX C

EXAMPLES OF INTERPRETATIVE RELATIVE PHRASES

IN THE NEW TESTAMENT

MATTHEW

NOM--1:23; 27:33

MARK

NOM--3:17; 5:41; 7:11,34;
12:42; 15:16,22,34,42

JOHN

NOM--1:38,41,42

ACTS

NOM--4:36

COLOSSIANS

NOM--1:24

HEBREWS

NOM--7:2

REVELATION

NOM--21:17

TOTALS

NOMINATIVE -- 18
18

APPENDIX D

EXAMPLES OF CONJOINING RELATIVE PHRASES

IN THE NEW TESTAMENT

MARK

DAT--2:19

LUKE

GEN--12:3; 19:44
DAT--5:34; 12:1; 19:13

JOHN

DAT--5:7

ACTS

GEN--12:23
DAT--26:12

ROMANS

DAT--8:3

1 PETER

DAT--2:12; 3:16

TOTALS

GENITIVE -- 3
DATIVE -- 9
12

APPENDIX E

EXAMPLES OF DEMONSTRATIVE RELATIVE PHRASES

IN THE NEW TESTAMENT

MATTHEW

NOM--13:8,8,8,23,23,23
22:5,5
DAT--25:15,15,15
ACC--21:35,35,35

MARK

NOM--4:4
ACC--2:5,5

LUKE

NOM--8:5
ACC--23:33,33

ACTS

ACC--27:44,44

ROMANS

NOM--14:2,5,5
ACC--9:21,21

1 CORINTHIANS

NOM--14:2,5,5
DAT--12:8
ACC--12:28

2 CORINTHIANS

DAT--2:16,16

2 TIMOTHY

NOM--2:20,20

JUDE

ACC--22,23,23

TOTALS

NOMINATIVE	--	17
GENITIVE	--	0
DATIVE	--	6
ACCUSATIVE	--	15
		38

NOTES

1. I use the following abbreviations and conventions throughout this paper:

ACC --accusative case
DAT --dative case
FEM --feminine
GEN --genitive case
IHRC --internally-headed relative clause
IND --indefinite
LXX --the Septuagint
MASC --masculine

NOM --nominative case
NP --noun phrase
PL --plural
RC --relative clause
RP --relative pronoun
SING --singular

2. Koine also has what has generally been referred to as "free" or "headless" relative clauses. In this type of RC there is no overt antecedent. A good example of this is Matthew 10:38.

(1) Matthew 10:38

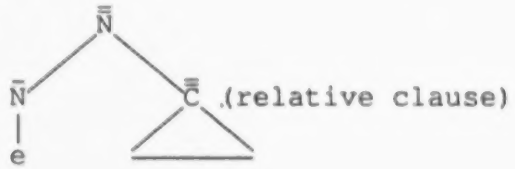
καὶ	[ὅς	οὐ	λαμβάνει	τὸν σταυρὸν	αὐτοῦ
and	RP:NOM	not	take	the cross	of him

καὶ	ἀκολουεῖ	μου],	οὐκ	ἔστιν	μου ἄξιος.
and	follow	me	not	is	of me worthy

'And (the one) who does not take his cross and follow me is not worthy of me.'

This, and other, "free relatives" are characterized by the following phrase marker:

(2)



3. I will refrain from using accent or breathing marks in the Koine phrase markers (PMs) as this will improve the format of the PMs.

4. There are a couple of other slightly different types of verses that might be construed as further examples of prenominal RCs. These come from Appendix A and include John 3:32; 5:38; 8:26 and Galatians 2:18. In these verses there is no overt head noun. However, there is a noun modifier which ***follows*** the relative clause. I rule out the possibility of them being prenominal RCs for the same reasons that were listed in section 4. These can be treated as postnominal RCs with a null head since Koine grammar would allow for a relative clause to occur between the head noun and its determiner.

References

Blass, F. and A. Debrunner. 1961. A Greek Grammar of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Callow, John. 1983a. Word Order in New Testament Greek, Part I. Selected Technical Articles Related to Translation. No. 7. Dallas, Texas: Summer Institute of Linguistics.

Keenan, Edward. 1978. Relative Clauses in the Languages of the World. University of California at Los Angeles.

Marshall, Alfred and Eberhard Nestle. 1960. The Interlinear Greek-English New Testament. London: Samuel Bagster and Sons.

Maxwell, Daniel M. 1979. Strategies of Relativization and NP Accessibility. Language. Vol. 55, No. 2. pp. 352-371.

Robertson, A. T. 1934. A Grammar of the Greek New Testament in the Light of Historical Research. Nashville, Tennessee: Broadman Press.

Shopen, Timothy (ed.). 1985. Typology and Linguistic Description. Volume 2. Complex Constructions. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.